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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to conceptualize, sort, and analyze national and state policies that have affected teacher education programs during the last 30 years. If teacher recruitment, preparation, licensing, and professional development are situated at the rope's center, then who is winning the tug-of-war over teacher education policy making. The paper introduced the tug-of-war players and provides a brief synopsis of the governance structures and historical context of teacher education programs in the United States. It also discusses the nature of policy problems, outlines different policy instruments, and discusses how one can examine the accountability system embedded in a policy. The third section of the paper examines state and national teacher education policies from the past three decades, tracing how the center point has moved back and forth in the tug-of-war. Prior to 1970, the State team maintained the center flag with its authority over program approval and licensing. Through the 1970s, the National team increased its pull, and in the 1980s, the State team reasserted its efforts to maintain control of teacher education policy making. In the 1990s, the National team determined to take control of teacher education policy as it leveraged state teacher education reforms through the mandates and inducement of the Higher Education Act, Goals 2000, and the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Higher education institutions and teacher education program personnel have not generally been participants in the tug-of-war, but they must react to changes in the center point, and must implement the policies that are increasingly being determined at a national level. (Contains 54 references.) (SLD)

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Accountability in the Tug of War over Teacher Education Policy-Making: A Historical Review

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Accountability in the Tug of War over Teacher Education Policy-Making: A Historical Review

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State[1] and national policy-makers have been engaged in a tug-of-war over teacher education for a long time (Earley, 1996; Koppich, 1998; Royster, 1981;Schneider, 1987). Control over teacher recruitment, preparation, licensing, and professional development sit at the rope's center point. The United States Constitution, by its silence, delegates authority over education to each of the fifty states. Nevertheless, in times of a perceived national crisis, policy-makers at the national level have enticed or mandated states to better address student achievement and teacher quality. This intervention is seen in the 1958 National Defense Education Act and its amendments, the 1992 reauthorization of Title II of the Higher Education Act, the 1994 Goals 2000: Education America Act, and the 1994/2001 Elementary and Secondary Education Act reauthorizations. The recent introduction of the "Ready to Teach" Act (H.R. 2211), which reauthorizes Title II of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (HEA), "aims to align teacher preparation programs with the expectations of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education Briefs, 2003, p. 1). This latest intervention begs the question, does a national agenda control the future of teacher education policy-making?

[1] Ultimately, state and federal teacher recruitment, preparation, and professional development policies are implemented at the local level. While Local Education Agencies (LEAs) are ultimately controlled by state education policies, federal policies have supplemented state initiatives to better balance the needs of specific populations.

What is the history of this intervention? What types of problems constitute policy intervention? How has the type of intervention changed over the last thirty years? More importantly, does this collective of interventions establish a national teacher education policy framework that sidelines teacher educators and our research?

As state and federal authorities tussle over improvements to the educational system, and specifically teacher education, preparation programs find themselves in the center of this tug-of-war struggling to address both policy-making entities. As a result, teacher education programs are frequently tangled in policy congestion. This congestion generates accountability questions: Who is accountable for what? To whom are they accountable? And through what process are they held accountable?

This paper is one attempt to conceptualize, sort through, and analyze national and state policies that have affected teacher education programs during the last thirty years. If teacher recruitment, preparation, licensing, and professional development are situated at the rope's center point then who is winning the tug-of-war over control of teacher education policy-making? More importantly, given the context of this history, what policy options exist for developing a shared responsibility among teacher education stakeholders?

I begin this paper by introducing the tug-of-war players and a brief synopsis of the governance structures and historical context of teacher education programs in the United States. I then discuss the nature of policy problems, outline different policy instruments, and share how one can examine the accountability system embedded in a policy. Using this framework, the third section examines specific state and national teacher education policies from the past three decades. I trace the policy's theory of action, outline the embedded assumptions, discuss the nature of the policy instrument used to leverage implementation, and explicate the inherent

accountability system. This analysis guides my discussion about the effectiveness of these policies to improve teacher education. I conclude this paper by summarizing major issues that have emerged from the last thirty years of teacher education policy activity.

Terms of Reference, Delineations, and One Caveat

I use the following terms throughout this paper. The term *policy* describes guidelines for discretionary action. *Teacher education policy*

> seeks to influence who shall teach; what prospective teachers know, are able to do, and value; and how the learning of teacher candidates is structured...[This paper focuses on] policies that are authoritatively issued by or on behalf of public officials with the purpose of shaping these decisions (Hawley, 1990, p. 136).

The phrase "authoritatively issued by or on behalf of public officials" eliminates my discussion of institutional policy relationships with teacher education professional affiliations like the Holmes Group/Partnerships or Goodlad's National Network for Educational Renewal. On the other hand, most states have a legislated relationship with the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) governing program approval so I have included a discussion on how these partnerships have shaped state and federal policies. I have only included teacher education policies affecting the preparation of most K-12 teachers and, have therefore, excluded policies targeted at the preparation of categorical teachers and various other educational personnel (e.g., library/media specialists, administrators, etc.). Thus, the focus of this paper is on national and state policies impacting teacher education *programs*.

I extend one caveat; readers should remember that sensemaking and micro-politics mediate policy implementation. At each policy/practice intersection, actors negotiate how a policy is implemented. Therefore readers should recognize that "policy made is not policy implemented" (Hawley, 1990, p. 137) and because of the interplay between actors and policy,

"implementation dominates outcomes" (McLaughlin, 1987, p. 172). With that said, let me begin with a historical review of the structures and policies governing teacher education programs in the United States.

A Historical Context from Which to Begin—The State Team Absorbs Local Players

Historically, educating the public has been the responsibility of local school boards governed by individual state education laws. However the U. S. Constitution "phrase '...provide for the ...general welfare...' has been the basis of federal involvement in education throughout our nation's history" (Royster & Chernay, 1981, p. 26). This phrase carries with it the power to levy educational policies and distribute federal aid. As a result, public education, and the preparation of teachers responsible for that education, sits at the confluence of local, state, and federal legislative efforts.

Local Team Absorbed by State Team

Long ago, policies addressing the preparation of teachers rested with local school boards. However, as the public demanded more teachers, and more from its teachers, teacher preparation moved from the local schoolhouse to summer Teacher Institutes to state funded Normal Schools. Teacher education programs formalized with each transition. By the middle of the 19th century, teacher education programs had admission criteria, and

> with allowance for minor variations among the several institutions, the standard one-year curriculum encompassed a thorough review of the "common branches" of learning taught in primary schools;...a limited number of secondary-level academic subjects;...studies devoted to the physical, mental, and psychological development of children; one or more methods courses; a course in classroom management; and a period of practice teaching in a model school (Lucas, 1997, p. 25).

Program completers received a certificate that allowed them to teach in the state's elementary schools. By the end of the 1800's, with the exception of site-specific teacher professional development sessions, local teacher education policy-makers were members of the state's team.

The formal transfer and transformation of teacher education programs from Normal Schools to departments of pedagogy in federally-sponsored land grant colleges and universities occurred during the 1900's. Debates among institutions over the nature of teacher education programs were somewhat resolved when states implemented program approval guidelines and policies and expanded teacher-licensing requirements during the early 20th century. These policy maneuvers allowed states to exercise control over admission criteria, the nature of teacher education curricula, and determine what constituted program completion; all of which helped assure the public of a level of quality in teacher education programs. By the second half of the 20th century, most "local or county licensure procedures had been replaced by certification upon completion of an institution's state approved teacher preparation program" (Roth, 1990, p. 127).

The National Team Stretches Its Muscles: Nationwide Teacher Education Policies

Several pieces of national legislation indirectly impacted teacher education during the late 19th century. For example, the National Science Foundation (NSF) offered summer institutes to in-service teachers to upgrade their knowledge and skills about the teaching and learning of science and mathematics. The 1958 National Defense Education Act (NDEA) is commonly used as a starting point for the federal government's interest in teacher preparation. This is because the first NDEA-funded institutes supported "improving teachers' subject matter competence not their teaching skills" (Earley, 1994, p. 48). Like NSF, subsequent NDEA reauthorizations and amendments expanded the policy's initial purpose.

During the 1960's, in response to Supreme Court decisions, citizen's outcries, and a host of critical analyses of the educational system, the federal government scaled up its involvement in education and teacher education. As Freiberg and Waxman (1990) note,

> The federal government's strategy for educational change since the beginning of the 1960's has been to move American education from an exclusive educational system, which was evident through most of American history, to an inclusive system through both equality of opportunity for students and a new multicultural cohort of teachers (Freiberg, 1990, p. 618-19).

Two major legislative acts from the 1960's illustrate the federal government's involvement in teacher education policy-making: The Higher Education Act, which embraced the Teacher Corps Program, and the Education Professions Development Act.

The Teacher Corps Program, enacted in 1965 under Title V of The Higher Education Act, was a funding wake-up call for colleges and universities to " face the problems of the city as they once faced problems of the farm and to realize that disadvantaged children were different, and schooling must adapt to this circumstance" (Royster, 1981, p. 92). Working through partnerships with local colleges and universities, Teacher Corps developed in two phases: the preservice phase wherein 50-100 interns were recruited into each teaching project; and the in-service phase directed at "enriching the quality of veteran teachers in the public school through staff development and structural changes by improving school climate" (Freiberg, 1990, p. 618). States appeared to ignore the fact that national policy-makers were slowly pulling the teacher education governance flag into their territory because Teacher Corps projects still required state education agency approval and federal financial incentives were welcomed.

Teacher Corps programs were reauthorized under the Education Professions Development Act (EPDA) in 1967, signaling the federal government's direct intervention into teaching and teacher education. Underpinning the EPDA was the belief that

> teachers are a variable in student achievement, that there should be a knowledge-base for the preparation of teachers, and that it is proper for the federal government to fund programs intended to promote educators' professional as well as subject matter preparation (Earley, 1994, p. 53).

This initiative brought members from the educational community at large together to develop recruitment strategies, partnership agreements between universities and K-12 schools to aid teacher preparation, and implement researched-based programs to improve teachers' and administrators' professional development. The HEA and EPDA represent a formal interest in teacher education by the National Team.

The Crowd: The Influence of NCATE on Teacher Education Policy-Making

Most tug-of-war games involve two teams and the audience remains a spectator. However, in the tug-of-war over teacher education policy-making, professional associations provided power drinks to both State and National teams. These associations helped shore up programs within each state and lobbied at the federal level.

During the late 1930's, the National Education Association (NEA) established the Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards as the "official agency of the organized teaching profession to establish standards for teacher-education institutions and bring about the enforcement of those standards" (Roth, 1990, p. 129). Between 1939 and 1942, the Commission launched a national study of teacher education that identified basic components of a comprehensive teacher education program. These included "general education, advanced subject matter preparation, professional education (including general courses, child growth and development, social understanding, creative expression, instructional units), participation through direct experiences and student teaching" (Royster, 1981, p. 25). The integration of these components into approval policies extended state involvement in teacher education

program curricula and most are still evident today. In 1954, NCATE was formally established with a dual mission of "accountability and improvement in teacher preparation" (NCATE, 2000).

Historically there appear to be four entry points for state and federal teacher education policy-making: 1) policies that recruit people into teaching; 2) policies to improve the quality of teacher preparation; 3) licensing policies; and 4) policies that leverage in-service teachers' professional development. Figure 1 summarizes each team's involvement in teacher education policy-making.

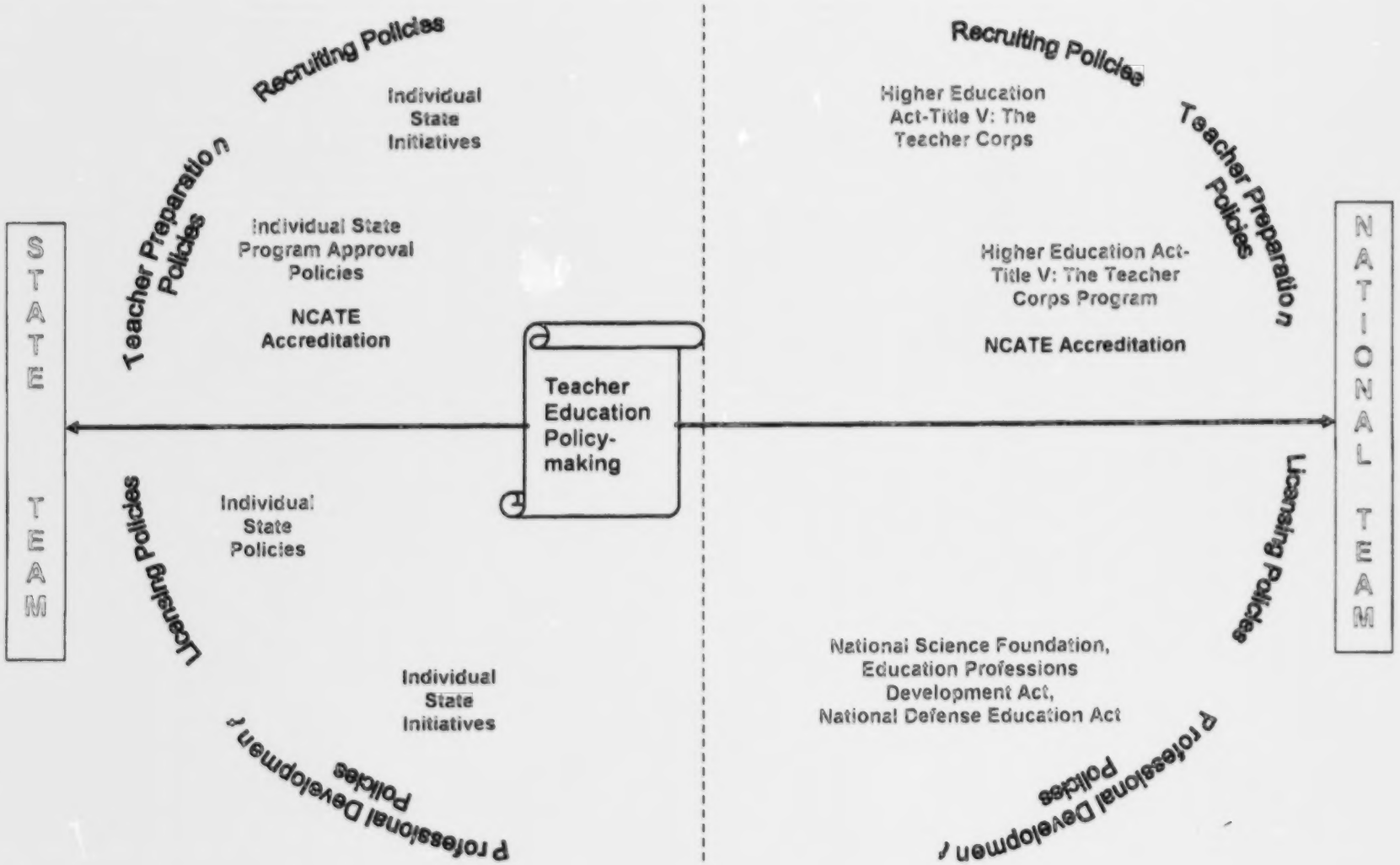

Figure 1. A Historical Summary of State and National Involvement in Teacher Education Policy-Making

When we review the tug-of-war over teacher education policy-making prior to 1970, we see that the State Team maintains the center flag with its ultimate authority over program approval and licensing; this despite tugs on the rope from each of the federally legislated activities discussed. Let's take a closer look at the nature of policy problems, the variety in policy instruments, and each team's game plan.

Policy Problems and Policy Instruments

Policy analysis assumes, more often than not, a policy problem. But how the problem is defined depends, to a large extent, on how you construct the problem. "A problem is constituted by the differences among its definitions" (Edelman, 1988, p. 15) and embodies a basic set of agreed upon facts generally supported by analytic data. The normative aspect of a policy problem reflects the policy-makers' values and the social system in which both are situated. In other words, actors within a social system have valued expectations of how the system ought to work. These beliefs influence the policy tool selected and, by that selection, define an expected outcome.

For the purposes of this paper, the tug-of-war over teacher education-policy making between the state and national authorities signifies an understanding that individual states are not attending to their responsibility over teacher education policy-making so every student has a quality teacher and the subsequent opportunities to learn. Historically, evidence of this problem can be found through the State's involvement in teacher education program approval and licensing while National authorities have exercised their control through recruitment and professional development policies.

Each policy problem carries embedded assumptions about both the nature of the problem and how to best ameliorate the issue at hand. Majone (1989) suggests, "Articulation and

clarification of the policy core—an important task of retrospective analysis—can help experimentation and learning" (Majone, 1989, p. 152). At the core of this tug-of-war policy problem—who should have the authority over teacher education policy-making—is the assumption that a quality teacher contributes to student achievement. Inherent in this core are two separate, but related problems: 1) historically each state has been at liberty to define teacher education policies; and 2) teachers licensed in one state are often ineligible to teach in another state. Evidence of this policy core is found in the longevity and continued expansion of the federal government's involvement in teacher education policy-making.

Majone (1989) also notes, "sharply defined core principles may facilitate, rather than inhibit, incremental change and adaptation to new situations by providing clear criteria by which to distinguish the essential from the expendable, and by setting up guidelines within which a wide variety of approaches can develop" (Majone, 1989, p. 152). Although there are four clear entry points for policy intervention in our historical review, each policy-making entity did not select the same instrument to address the problem.

Policy instruments, or tools, are "the mechanisms that translate substantive policy goals into concrete actions" (McConnell & Elmore, 1987, p. 134). Mandates, inducements, capacity building, system changing, and ideas are policy tools. Mandates establish rules, which in turn dictate consistent behavior. State teacher education program approval policies involve mandates—action is required regardless of capacity and action would not occur with desired frequency or consistency without the rule. Inducements offer money in exchange for compliance. NSF legislation and the NDEA are examples of inducements. In these policies, the valued good—professional development activities for teachers—would not have been produced with desired frequency or consistency without supplemental funds.

Capacity building instruments offer money and other investments to enhance the skills and competence of an organization. The Teacher Corps program is an example capacity building because underrepresented teacher candidates were recruited into teacher education programs and then prepared for work in high poverty, low achieving schools. Colleges and universities, which accepted funding and housed Teacher Corps programs, were expected to change the way teachers were prepared. This is an example of System Changing as a policy tool.

Ideas, as a policy tool,

> invite people to think differently about their situation, by providing them with information about new alternatives or about the advantages or disadvantages of existing alternatives, making some perspectives more salient than others, directing attention toward some phenomena and away from others, or leading people to accept different values or preferences (Weiss, 1990, 179).

Ideas persuade people that more desirable actions and outcomes exist. NCATE's involvement in teacher education policy making is an illustration of how ideas work as a policy tool.

Which policy instrument is selected is often dependent on two criteria: 1) how the policy problem is defined and 2) resources and constraints on policymakers. For the purposes of this review, I assume fiscal resources are stable. One constraint is whether a particular instrument can leverage implementation and provide visible results to constituents within the policy-makers term of office. The fact that all policy tools have a symbolic component puts a spin on the selection process. In other words, each tool represents a gesture, which may, or may not be, followed by action.

When we apply this framework to our historical review, we can note that individual states have used program approval and licensing mandates as a means of maintaining its authority over teacher education. At the national level, inducements, capacity building and system changing

have been used to exert its influence (see Figure 2). Now, let's explore whether tool selection has changed over the past 30 years as each team tugs for control.

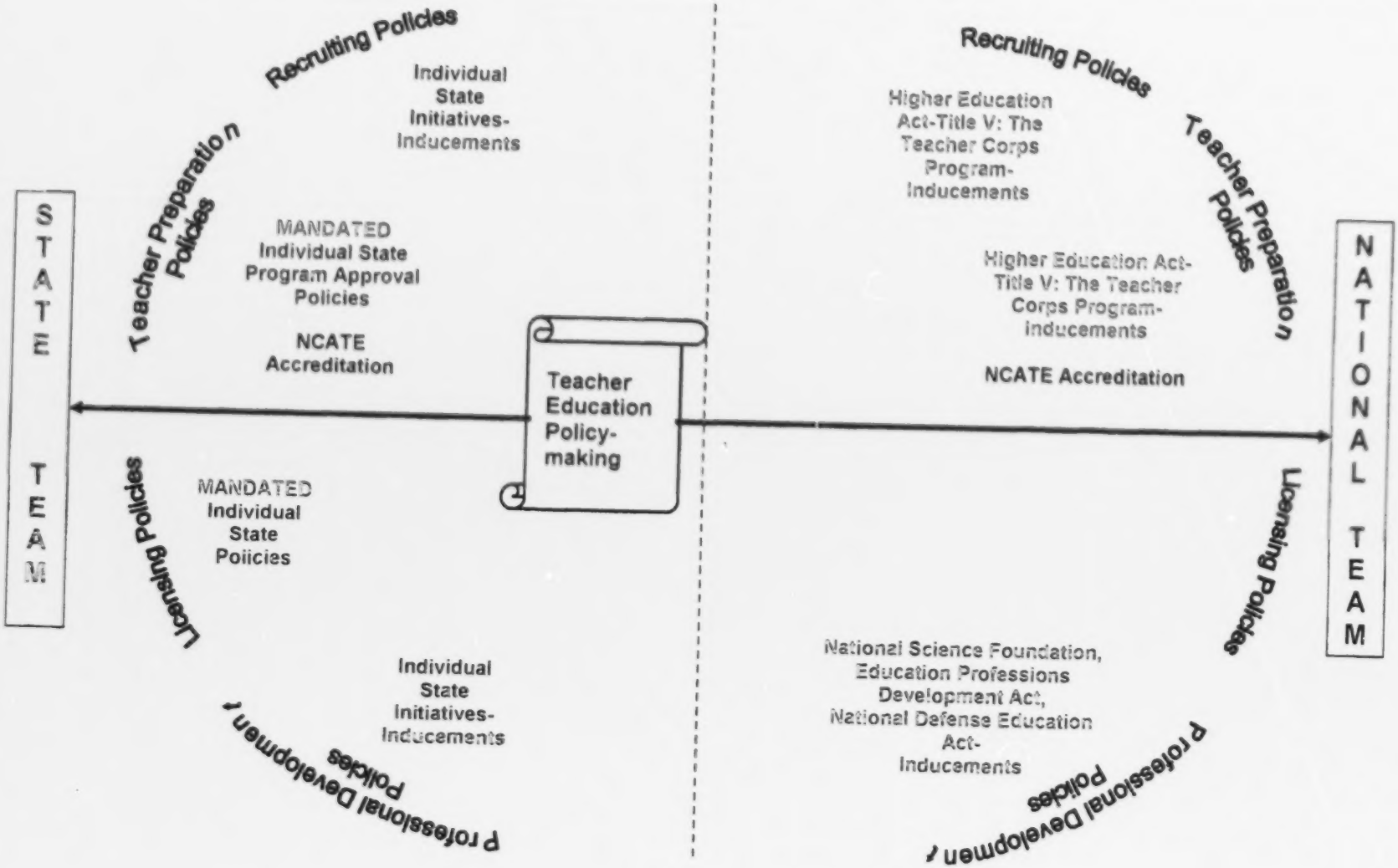

Figure 2. A Historical Summary of State and National Policy Tools in Teacher Education Policy-Making

The 1970's CBTE Policies: One Tug from the National Team—Two from the State

The tug of war over teacher education policy-making has heated up since 1970. The same teams—state and national policy-makers—are still in the game, but each has worked harder to control the center flag. Let's review how pertinent state and national policies from this era have altered the nature of the game.

In 1968, under the Education Professions Development Act (EPDA), nine research centers received federal funds to "provide teacher-preparation institutions with models of preparation and materials for their implementation, thus increasing the effectiveness of such programs" (Freiberg & Waxman, 1990, p. 620). The centers produced process-product research that drew heavily from behaviorist learning theories (see for example Dunkin & Biddle, 1974; Gage, 1978). Originally titled "Comprehensive Models for Preparing Elementary Teachers", the research quickly morphed into Competency-Based Teacher Education (CBTE) with the belief that states could hold students of teaching "accountable for having particular competencies and institutions [could] be held accountable for producing able teachers" (Haberman & Stinnett, 1973, p. 93) by mandating CBTE policies.

CBTE programs typified a training model based on demonstration of individualized, scaffold, and sequentially more difficult teaching tasks. A CBTE program has 5 essential elements: 1) competencies are derived from some explicit conception of the teachers' role; 2) criteria for assessments are appropriate and explicit; 3) assessment is based on candidate performance; 4) progress through a program is based on mastered competencies rather than course completion; and 5) instruction facilitates candidate achievement of the program's competencies. With its "formulation of concrete and observable criteria for good teaching" (Korthagen & Russell, 1995, p. 188), candidates in CBTE programs became certified after

completing a program developed around a checklist of "research-based" teaching behaviors. The CBTE model was quickly integrated into program approval policies in large states like New York, California, and Washington (Lindsey, 1976).

The CBTE reform effort peaked at the end of the 1970's amidst critics' claims that teacher knowledge could not be itemized and assumed to have causal link with teacher behavior in a complex classroom environment (Broudy, 1984). Readers might, however, see similarities between the CBTE checklists of behaviors and performance-based teacher standards present in today's state program and licensing policies.

An Analysis of the 1970's CBTE Policies

The theory of action in CBTE policies reflects the program's behaviorist learning foundation: If states adopt the CBTE model into their program approval mandates then IHEs would be forced to incorporate the CBTE requirements into their programs and all state approved preparation programs would produce competent teachers. Doing so would allow states to hold preparation programs accountable for preparing competent teachers. However, a review of CTBE programs in 56 colleges and universities was inconclusive regarding changes in teacher education programs (Roth, 1976, cited in Freiberg & Waxman 1990).

Why were these mandated policies so ineffective? Three assumptions in the CBTE policy initiate might explain this situation. First the addition of the CBTE model into existing program approval mandates—course and field experience requirements—created a web of policy congestion during implementation (Haberman & Stinnett, 1973). Second, policy-makers assumed programs had the institutional and instructional capacity to integrate a new and very different teacher learning system into existing programs. And finally, CBTE policy-makers failed to acknowledge the professional and institutional resources that may have helped the

implementation process. Implementation, as a "conception of bargaining and transformation... highlights individuals rather than institutions and frames central implementation issues in terms of individual actors' incentives, beliefs, and capacity" (McLaughlin, 1987, p. 175). In hindsight, it's not surprising that CBTE policies created implementation issues.

The CTBE model is just one example of how the National Team extended its pull while allowing states to maintain control over program approval. In the tug-of-war over teacher education policy-making, the center flag still appears in the state's territory despite several tugs from the National team.

A Crowd Steps onto the Playing Field: NCATE Extends Its Influence

During the 1970's NCATE reformed its accreditation standards and took a more active role in policy-making. By 1984, NCATE accreditation standards were incorporated into over half of the 50 states' teacher education policies (Roth, 1996). In many instances, national accreditation was synonymous with state program approval.

During the 1980's two reports, the *Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983) and *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century* (Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy's Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, 1986) synthesized the goals and standards of NCATE with its two professional sister groups, the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (INTASC), and the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS). Citing the obvious relationships between teaching and learning, these organizations argued

> Standards for teaching are the linchpin for transforming current systems of preparation, licensing, certification, and on-going development so that they better support student learning. [Such standards] can bring clarity and focus to a set of activities that are currently poorly connected and often badly organized....Clearly, if students are to achieve high stands, we can expect no less

> from their teacher and from other educators. Of greatest priority is reaching agreement on what teachers should know and be able to do to teach to high standards (National Commission on Teaching & America's Future, 1996, p. 67).

Working together, these groups put forward a policy agenda to professionalize teaching and teacher education.

By the end of the 1980's many states had established licensing systems founded on performance-based teacher standards and had legislated program approval partnership agreements with NCATE. States leveraged this desired change in teacher knowledge through their authority to approve teacher education programs and license teachers. The scope of the NCATE's influence is noteworthy for it nearly drowns stand-alone state program approval systems or institutional associations with other accrediting bodies (e.g., Teacher Education Accreditation Council). NCATE's professionalization sponsors were no longer part of the audience; they were now fully-integrated team members.

The States' Team Regroups in the 1980's

Fueled by the 1983 *Nation at Risk Report,* state policy-makers attempted to institute educational "policy packages." These packages combined changes in what, and how, students learned (e.g., new graduation requirements, new curriculum models, and student achievement testing) with changes in in-service teacher policies (e.g., career ladders), and pre-service teacher education requirements. Though packages for teacher education programs were less coherent, "virtually every state sought to improve its [K-12] schools by changing one or more policies related to teacher education" (Hawley, 1990, p. 139). Let's take a closer look at our four target

areas for teacher education policies; recruitment; improving the quality of teacher preparation through program approval; licensing; and in-service teachers' professional development. [2]

Recruitment Policies

Many state initiatives were directed at recruiting teachers and candidates into hard to staff areas. These policies often took the form of scholarships and loan forgiveness. In Alaska, "a loan program provides $7,500 per year and each year is forgivable if the individual returns to and teaches in the rural area for 5 years (State Issues Clearinghouse, 1986, p. 5). In Maryland, scholarships were available for individuals with degrees in mathematics or science who wanted to enter teaching. Data on the effectiveness of these inducement policies was not readily available.

Improving the Quality of Teacher Preparation

During the 1980's most states utilized either their own program approval standards or legislated partnerships with NCATE to approve institution's teacher education programs. Many states raised GPA requirements, set specified cut scores using the Pre-Professional Skills Test (P-PST), increased field experience requirements, and leveraged these changes through their program approval policies. In West Virginia, "institutions must assess students' abilities on the basis of 26 state-established outcomes" (State Issues Clearinghouse, 1986, p. 101).

Licensing Policies

The implementation of teacher education program entrance exams went hand in hand with teacher licensing exam requirements. Candidates took licensing exams prior to completing their teacher education program coursework. Licensing exams were also required by out of state

[2] Information is based on data found in "Teacher Education in the States: 50-State Survey of Legislative and Administrative Actions (State Issues Clearinghouse, 1986). Details of any specific state policy can be found in the original report. All other sources of information are noted accordingly.

candidates. In Arkansas, a candidate seeking initial certification or a license needed to meet the state's established cut score on the National Teachers Exam.

While most states were increasing program requirements, states with teacher shortages implemented alternative certification policies as a system-changing instrument. In California, the Teacher Trainee Program allowed districts to hire uncertified and emergency licensed teachers under but required a "two-year training plan and assign each trainee a mentor" (McDonnell, 1989, p. 20). Many of these alternative certification programs were allowed to bypass the state's teacher education program approval policies.

In-Service Teachers' Professional Development Policies

By the end of the 1980's, the majority of states had policies mandating some form of teacher induction program. These programs had two goals: " to retain new teachers in the profession and help teachers advance through Berliner's (1986) identified stages of competent, proficient, or expert" (Furtwengler, 1995, p. 1). Connecticut implemented the Beginning Teacher Support and Training (BEST) program in 1987 with a law requiring that "a one-year provisional certificate be issued to all beginning teachers, during which they will undergo support and assessment" (State Issues Clearinghouse, 1986, p. 15).

Many states strengthened license renewal requirements by requiring professional development activities. Texas, Maine, Pennsylvania, and Utah mandated teacher participation in Local Education Agency (LEA) designed professional development sessions while Oregon, Louisiana, Rhode Island, and Washington required credit or clock hours for license renewal.

Clearly the States' Team was reworking their game plan to maintain control of teacher education policy-making.

The National Team Slacks Off: Nationwide Teacher Education Policies of the 1980's

The 1980's might be best described as the data—information—evidence era for the National Team. A crowd of interest groups collected data and generated reports on how to best restructure the National Team. Many reports cited evidence that the American education system was in need of improvement (e.g., *Making the Grade, The Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Policy* by the 20th Century Fund Task Force on Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Policy and *Educational Reform: A Response from Educational Leaders* by the Forum of Educational Organization Leaders). Other interest groups countered with their own reports (see for example, *Recommendations for Improving K-12 Schools* by Phi Delta Kappa and A *Summary of Major Reports on Education* by Education Commission of the States.) The number of reports, and counter reports, appeared endless.

A second wave of reports focused on teacher preparation. These included, among others, *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century* by the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, Task Force on Teaching as a Profession; *Tomorrow's Teachers* by The Holmes Group and *A Call for Change in Teacher Education* by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, National Commission for Excellence in Teacher Education). National policy-makers read, listened, and read more. However, "compared to the 1960's and 1970's, federal activity in regard to teacher education during the 1980's was modest" (p. 60). Amendments to the Higher Education Act were one exception.

In 1980, amendments to the HEA reauthorized the Teacher Corps program and provided grants to schools or colleges of education for the development of categorical teacher preparation programs. Additional amendments established the Talented Teachers Act and provided scholarships to recruit people into teaching and fellowships for those already in the profession.

Funds were delivered to states in the form of block grants and administered by state education agencies.

An Analysis of the 1980's State and National Teacher Education Policies

While the National Team was reviewing national reports, the State Team was engaged in a flurry of teacher education policy activity. These policies reflected the increased interest and demand for standards, accountability, and K-12 curricular changes.

McDonnell (1989), in her review of five states' teacher education policies highlights three implementation issues. She noted, for example, that when actors at the various targeted areas defined the policy problem in a similar fashion, implementation "was more consistent with policymakers' intent, and the immediate effects were more likely to meet both state and local expectations" (p. 50). The second implementation issue revolves around the importance of local context and choice of policy tool. She suggests, "For both inducements and mandates, the amount of local discretion permitted by a particular policy appears to shape differences in implementation outcomes" (McDonnell, 1989, p. 51).

The last issue is "the ability of a policy to collect reliable and valid data" (McDonnell, 1989, p. 51). Reform policies are intended to do exactly that; reform previous or existing policies. If reform is what is desired, the ability to turn data into information that helps define a policy problem is essential unless policy-makers are intent on going around in circles by making various policy gestures.

Throughout the 1980's state policy makers used mandates to force a desired change in teacher education programs. Mandates, as a policy tool, require little cost and can, from a policy-makers' perspective, satisfy constituents' demands for action. Given all the activity by state policy-makers, and the national authorities' limited involvement with recruiting

inducements, states were clearly winning the tug-of-war for control of teacher education policy-making. But "reform activity should not be confused with change" (Cronbleth cited in Freiberg & Waxman, 1990, p. 622) and as Tom (1996) pointed out, "we have little systematic information about how state standards are [or are not] implemented during institutional reviews" (p. 13).

Readers should also note that states were acting individually and were not working as a team. Each state had its own policies to address recruitment, improving teacher quality, licensing, and in-service professional development. Program approval policies were so diverse across state lines that the quality of teachers prepared in one state could not be compared with those prepared in another state. This made it difficult for certified or licensed teachers to take advantage of other states' recruitment policies.

The absence of a national policy system to address teacher education program approval and licensing, as well as the inherent accountability that could be built into such policies, was obvious. To combat this situation, a rejuvenated National Team took the field during the 1990s.

The National Team Muscles for Control: Teacher Education Policies Since 1990

As we have seen, teacher education in the United States was comprised of loosely coupled systems within various governing bodies' jurisdictions. One consequence of this structure is that teacher education policies could originate from a variety of sources. Furthermore, implementation of any one reform often impacts other system components in unpredictable ways creating a mass of policy congestion. This is particularly true when different governing bodies attempt to implement various policies at the same time.

Since 1990, national authorities have used funding streams attached to various acts and amendments to induce, leverage, and propel specific state teacher education reforms in the quest to raise student achievement. The 1992 amendments to the Higher Education Act, 1994 Goals

2000: Educate America Act, and the 1994/2001 reauthorizations of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act were positioned together to revamp teacher education through mandated changes to teaching and learning in K-12 classrooms.

1992 Reauthorization of the Higher Education Act

The 1992 reauthorization of the Higher Education Act (HEA) altered the direction of the Title II Teacher Quality Enhancement Grant program. This program provides states with funding to "invest in the recruitment, preparation, licensing, and support of teachers" (United States Department of Education, 2001b). In exchange for this funding, the Title II Grant requires states and IHEs to publicly report the quality of their teacher preparation programs. Most states do this by reporting the pass rates of each institution's program completers on state-specific teacher certification or licensure assessments and include this information in their Title II report to the U.S. Department of Education.

Allocation of federal funds to the National Boards for Professional Teaching Standards was also included in the 1992 HEA reauthorization. Only a small portion of the overall funds are allocated to the Board but its inclusion suggests a federal buy-in to the belief that the quality of teachers was low; a condition that the Board's professionalization agenda could correct. Earley (1994) retells the Board's supporting argument this way,

> The United States has lost its competitive edge and is threatened by foreign industry, primarily in Pacific Rim nations. Unless American workers will accept further wage declines, the country will need to shift its economic base from manufacturing of goods to knowledge production. For this to occur schools must educate children in a different manner and teachers are central to this educational shift. Consequently two things must happen: teachers must possess different knowledge and skills, and more academically able persons must be recruited into teaching. The Board also argued that funding NBPTS certifications would help recruit persons, particularly persons of color, into teaching. (p. 161-162).

This was a good ploy because the use of National Board's standards, along with the INTASC and NCATE standards, could be easily integrated with other systemic reform policies.

Paradoxically, this same amendment also includes accommodations for alternative licensure proposals. Penny Earley's 1994 dissertation, *Federal Attention to Teacher Certification and Licensure: Two Policy Case Studies*, details this policy paradox. The National Team was clearly beginning to tug for control of teacher certification and licensing.

The 1994 Goals 2000: Educate America Act

The Goals 2000: Educate America Ace provided funds to improve pre- and in-service teachers' familiarity with new state content standards and the teacher learning needed to support K-12 student acquisition of that content. Darling-Hammond (1990) summarizes the Act's underlying belief system,

> If policymakers want to change teaching, they must pay attention to teacher knowledge. And if they are to attend to teacher knowledge, they must look beyond curriculum policies to those policies that control teacher education and certification, as well as ongoing professional development, supervision, and evaluation. (p. 346)

As an inducement tool, Goals 2000 positioned "teacher education preservice and professional development as elements of [K-12] school reform" (Earley & Schneider, 1996, p. 318).

1994/2001 Reauthorizations of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act

The 1994 reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act contained mandates for states to implement the systemic reform policies outlined by Goals 2000. The ESEA policies embody "three integral components: (1) the promotion of ambitious student outcomes for all students, (2) alignment of policy approaches and the actions of various policy institutions to promote such outcomes; and (3) restructuring the governance system to support improved achievement" (Goertz, Floden, & O'Day, 1995, p. 1). In addition,

> All state policies guiding instruction would then be based on these goals, forming a consistent, supportive policy structure for school improvement. State curriculum frameworks would set out the best thinking in the field about knowledge, process and skills students need to know in each core curriculum area. Instructional materials and high quality assessment would be tied to these frameworks. **Preservice professional programs would shift from an emphasis on credit collection in subject areas to an emphasis on preparing teachers to teach the content expected of students**, while inservice professional development opportunities would enable instructional staff to develop and refine their expertise in the content of the state frameworks and in effective pedagogical approaches (Goertz et al., 1995, p. 2, emphasis added).

Similarly, Title II Section A of the ESEA addresses Preparing, Training, and Recruiting High Quality Teachers and Principals. Its purpose is to provide grants to

> (1) increase student academic achievement through strategies such as improving teacher and principal quality and increasing the number of highly qualified teachers in the classroom and highly qualified principals and assistant principals in schools;
> (2) and hold local educational agencies and schools accountable for improvements in student academic achievement (President George W. Bush, 2002).

Section B provides funds for IHEs to improve the delivery of pre- and in-service mathematics and science teacher education. Section C provides authorization and funding for the Troops-to-Teachers program, helps program completers obtain certification or licensing as teachers, and facilitates their employment. Once again, we see the National Team tugging for control over teacher licensing. To leverage implementation at the state level, the 2001 ESEA reauthorizations tied state compliance to a series of public reporting systems and essential funding streams.

During the 1990's, the National Teams came to the playing field determined to take control of teacher education policy-making. Let's examine how the State Team in Wisconsin responded.

The State Team in Wisconsin

In July 2000, the State of Wisconsin formally adopted the nationally leveraged education policy recommendations and created new laws governing teacher education and licensing. Now,

under policies outlined by Wisconsin's Public Instruction Chapter PI 34 (PI 34), teacher education programs must prepare teacher candidates who can provide evidence that they have acquired the required "knowledge, skills and dispositions" outlined in the INTASC-based Wisconsin Teacher Standards. Wisconsin also has a NCATE partnership agreement wherein state approval can be coordinated with programs seeking external accreditation. PI 34 also outlines a career ladder for in-service teachers in which teachers' professional development plans must be articulated with the new Wisconsin Teacher Standards.

With all this policy activity, it would appear that the State of Wisconsin has implemented most of the National Teams' teacher education reform policies.

An Analysis of the 1990's State and National Teacher Education Policies

Today, content standards and assessments for K-12 students, performance-based program approval criteria for teacher education programs, and performance-based standards for teacher licensing are now commonplace in state education policies (United States Department of Education, 2001a). From a policy standpoint, linking policies and funding streams for K-12 content standards and assessments with teacher preparation accreditation, teacher licensing, and career development standards significantly reduces policy fragmentation and congestion in previous attempts to improve teacher education and its relationship with student achievement. States would implement the initiatives and, through their program approval process, would mandate the adoption of performance-based teacher education standards by IHEs. The new standards would also drive changes in three areas: 1) improvements in the quality of teacher preparation; 3) how people are licensed; and 4) professional development for in-service teachers.

The National Team leveraged these state teacher education reforms through the mandates and inducements attached to Title II of the Higher Education Act, Goals 2000, and the

1994/2001 ESEA reauthorizations. This represents a change in the National Team's choice of policy instruments. Pre-1990 national policies used inducements to recruit candidates into teaching, capacity building to raise the quality of teacher candidates and in-service teachers, and system changing policies to leverage changes in teacher education programs. Today, the National Team relies on a combination of mandates and inducements to implement desired changes. Figure 3 illustrates a summative picture of state and national involvement in teacher education program policy-making since 1990.

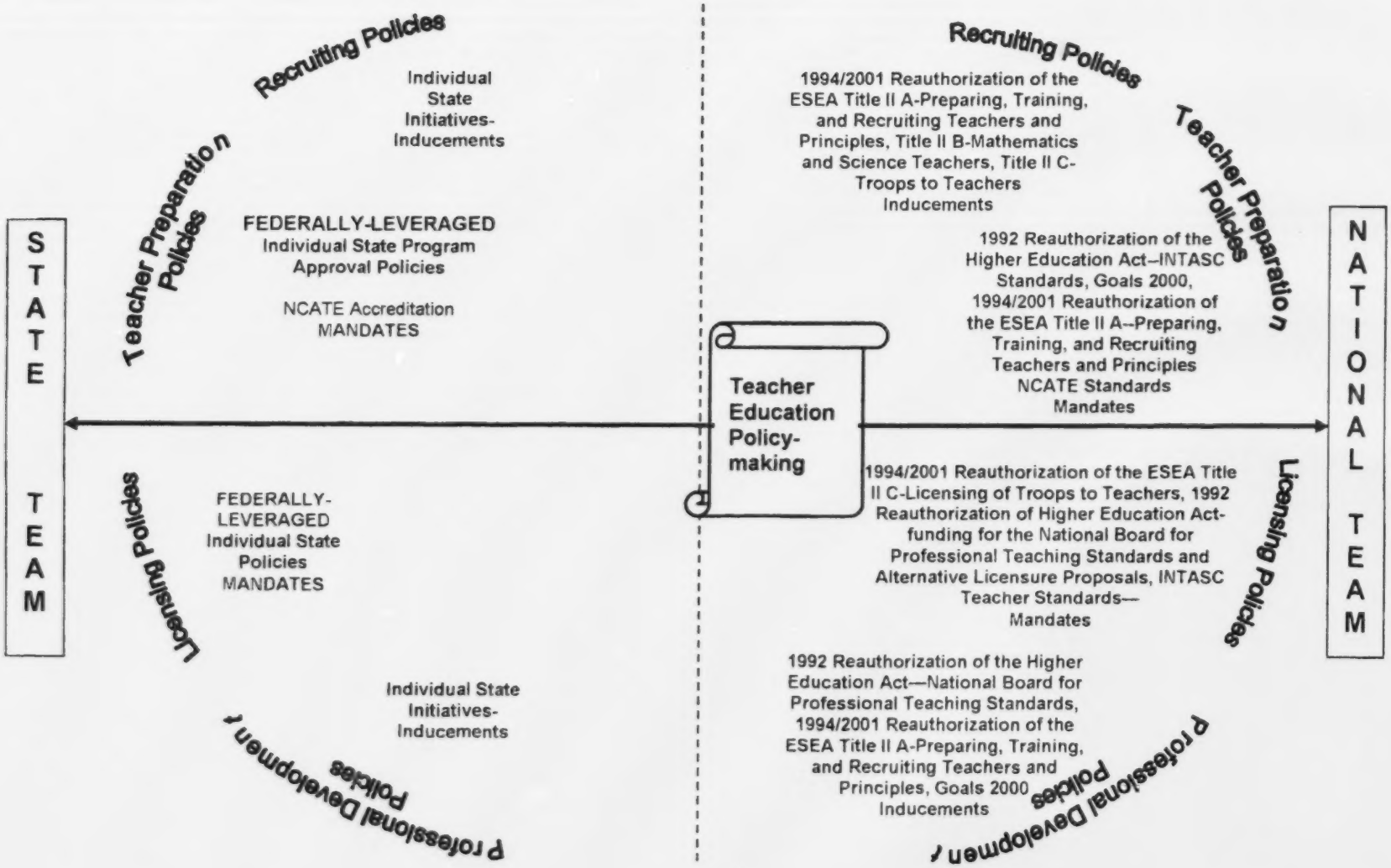
STATE TEAM
NATIONAL TEAM
Recruiting Policies
Individual State Initiatives-Inducements
Teacher Preparation Policies
FEDERALLY-LEVERAGED
Individual State Program Approval Policies
NCATE Accreditation MANDATES
Licensing Policies
FEDERALLY-LEVERAGED Individual State Policies MANDATES
Professional Development Policies
Individual State Initiatives-Inducements
Teacher Education Policy-making
Recruiting Policies
1994/2001 Reauthorization of the ESEA Title II A-Preparing, Training, and Recruiting Teachers and Principles, Title II B-Mathematics and Science Teachers, Title II C-Troops to Teachers Inducements
Teacher Preparation Policies
1992 Reauthorization of the Higher Education Act--INTASC Standards, Goals 2000, 1994/2001 Reauthorization of the ESEA Title II A--Preparing, Training, and Recruiting Teachers and Principles NCATE Standards Mandates
Licensing Policies
1994/2001 Reauthorization of the ESEA Title II C-Licensing of Troops to Teachers, 1992 Reauthorization of Higher Education Act-funding for the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards and Alternative Licensure Proposals, INTASC Teacher Standards--Mandates
Professional Development Policies
1992 Reauthorization of the Higher Education Act--National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, 1994/2001 Reauthorization of the ESEA Title II A-Preparing, Training, and Recruiting Teachers and Principles, Goals 2000 Inducements

Figure 3. State and National Involvement in Teacher Education Policy-Making Since 1990

An Analysis of the 1990's National and State Teacher Education Policies

There has been a definitive change in the tug-of-war over control of teacher education policy-making. For the first time, the "federal government expanded its influence into the area of standards for teacher credentialing [and licensing] in an attempt to address the general issue of school improvement" (Earley, 1994, p. 211). These new policies are based on several assumptions that may impact implementation and, ultimately, the effectiveness of the policy. Three assumptions serve as discussion points.

First, is the assumption that INTASC, NCATE, and NBPTS articulate 'best practice' and that "best" is not context-specific. In other words, best practices in rural Indiana are similar to best practices in Southern California. Several recent reviews and debates suggest that the research-base supporting these standards is thin (SRI International, 1999; Thomas B. Fordham Foundation, 1999; Tom, 2000; Wilson, Floden, & Ferrini-Mundy, 2001). As teacher educators, we understand the important influence of context. It was Haberman and Stinnett, in their review of the CBTE policies of the 70's, who pointed out, "previous experiences indicate that no single approach has ever taken complete control over curricula" (Haberman & Stinnett, 1973). The standards-based policy environment that now saturates the entire educational system represents a single "fix" and blankets the variations in context we know to exist in school settings across the country.

Second, is the assumption that teacher education programs have, or will recognize and address, the organizational and instructional capacity needed to implement the new reforms. Standards-based teacher education is a very different system of learning and success of this reform effort "clearly depends heavily on the extent to which the technical knowledge exists and

that school personnel feel competent to make the change" (Fuhrman, Clune, & Elmore, 1988, p. 254).

Finally, there is the assumption that school personnel are willing participants in the implementation of these reform efforts. As Elmore (1988) notes in his review, *Policy, Practice, and Reform of American Education*,

> the use of policy as an implement of reform grows out of a fundamental distrust of professional judgment. But the dilemma that accompanies this use of policy is that the fate of reforms ultimately depends on those who are the object of distrust (Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988, p. 34).

I conducted a pilot study that examined how Wisconsin PI 34 was impacting one teacher education program. My initial findings suggest that IHEs are implementing the mandated structures (e.g., teacher standards and portfolios) but teacher candidate learning hasn't changed and teacher educators are frustrated by the reform's top-down direction. My dissertation research should shed additional light on how these new policies are affecting teacher education programs and whether any, or all, of these assumptions are undermining the potential success of this latest effort to improve student achievement.

Conclusions and Recommendations for Future Teacher Education Research and Policy-Making

This review reveals that over the course of time IHEs, and more specifically teacher education program personnel, have not been participants in this tug of war. They have, in fact, been relegated to the sidelines. Three issues for future teacher education research and policy-making emerge from this sidelining.

First, and foremost, is the fundamental change in the locus of control over teacher education policies during the last thirty years. Although IHEs and program personnel ultimately decide on how these policies are implemented, over the years inducements have changed to

mandates and the stakes have increased, the accountability systems has moved from the local to the state and now the national level. In 1990, Freiberg and Waxman critiqued, "The popularization of education has expended the base of interest and support for teaching, but it has also eroded the authority of teacher educators to determine the entry and exit requirements and course of study of teacher education" (p. 622). And, as we have seen, recent policies continue to undermine any remaining control.

The change in control has occurred because student achievement levels remain inadequate. Large discrepancies still exist between various populations groups across the states. Our professional organization is on the playing field but they are not offering structural alternatives to how teachers are recruited, prepared, or licensed. The professionalization agenda has, in fact, merely tinkered with the existing preparation system. In another paper, "Strange Bedfellows," I present a policy idea that integrates Title I and Title II funding, alternative teacher certification programs, and state teacher standards to build instructional capacity in underachieving schools (Bales, 2002). This policy idea draws from our professional knowledge base and attempts to start a conversation between our loosely coupled educational organizations. It is Weiss (1990) who points out, "Ideas can themselves be instruments of policy. Through ideas, government can animate and direct patterns of action and inaction to change policy outcomes (p. 179). It is time to explore new ideas within the teacher education policy environment as a means of changing the ever-present gap in student achievement.

This change in the locus of control leads to a second issue impacting the future of teacher education research and policy-making. As teacher educators it is time to embrace a research focus that examines candidate recruitment, preparation, and licensing alternatives. The current body of research on alternative certification programs is lacking (SRI International, 1999;

Wilson, Floden & Ferrini-Mundy, 2001). Additional research may present structural alternatives to the current teacher education system. In turn, this research base may be able to provide other policy ideas.

The third issue stems from the second and addresses the role of dispositions in learning to teach. Current research suggests that the "best" teachers are learners; teachers who draw from their students' and make links with their teaching practice (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Putnam & Borko, 2000). This is not a fixed relationship achieved through the development of some set of skills. These teachers reflect on their practice and apply it to an ever-changing classroom context. Future teacher education research might want to probe how successful teachers make, and learn from, these connections. What dispositions are needed to make these connections? What dispositions are present in teacher candidates who become these teachers? More importantly, can these dispositions be cultivated?

Much of the research on alternative certification programs acknowledges the importance of these dispositions (Haberman, 1996; SRI International, 1999; Stoddart & Floden, 1996; Villegas, 2001; Zeichner & Schulte, 2001). There is more to learn. We may find that some people are 'born teachers'; they have the dispositions that support pedagogically sound practices. If this is the case it speaks to very different recruitment, program, licensing and professional development policies; policies that acknowledge both the skills and dispositions needed to promote student learning.

"What gives a policy stability is that some of its values, assumptions, methods, goals, and programs are held to be central and only to be abandoned, if at all, under the greatest stress and at the risk of severe internal crises" (Majone, 1989, p. 150). This review suggests that policy-

makers' core beliefs about learning to teach have been stable for a very long time. However our profession and the students underserved by our profession are stressed.

Throughout this paper I've referenced the tug-of-war between state and national policy-makers for the control of teacher education policy-making. I commented on the two teams' strategies as they pulled for the center flag. But even as I did so, our absence as teacher educators and teacher education researchers was always present. Elmore and McLaughlin suggest, "In devising relations among levels of government the important question is not which level of government should perform which function, but what pattern of shared authority for a given function is likely to offer beneficial results" (Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988, p. 33). In order to re-center the locus of control and claim the teacher education policy-making flag, we're going to have to join the tug-of-war. In order to join, we're going to need to develop and utilize a research base that defines our core.

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